

April 1, 1931

Dear Nevins:

Unfortunately, it will not be possible for me to be at the Executive Committee meeting on Friday.

The more I think about Devere's letter and the question of The World Tomorrow's future, the more I am convinced that we can work out an entirely satisfactory arrangement, provided Devere does not decide to major on War Resistance as such.

You will remember that I raised the question as to whether or not it would be possible to send a letter to all members of the F. O. R. urging them to take advantage of a special combination offer of one cloth edition of NATIONAL DEFENSE and fifty pamphlet editions for \$5. I hope to have a copy of the book in your hands by the time of the meeting on Friday.

Affectionately,

Rev. John Sayre,
Bible House,
Astor Place,
New York City.



Good News

Dear Friends;

The above represents our feelings. Not that we plan to drive to India, but it does mean that we have both our passage money and our car, either promised or in hand, and we want you to rejoice with us for we are walking on air.

The car has come in a wonderful way. We needed at least \$800 to get a Ford touring car to India. We had received \$370 when we came up against the more serious problem of obtaining our fare to India so it looked for awhile as if our car was not going to materialize. When we had just about given up hope along came a letter from a little church in New York State saying that they wanted to buy us a car to take out with us. The amount we have will just about meet the expense of taking it out. We want to thank each one of you for the help which has made it a reality. You would know how thankful we really are if you knew how many of the vital plans that we have been making hinge upon the use of that car. You will hear more about them later.

You may be interested to know that fifty people responded with gifts or promises toward our passage. Many more have encouraged us with wonderful letters of confidence. It has given us the thrill of our lives to find that so many people have faith in us and our call to India. It just multiplies by that much our determination not to disappoint that faith.

Most of the gifts I am sure have meant real sacrifice. One lady receiving only five dollars a week with room and board, sent us a check for \$25 of her savings. A girls class gave a candy sale and made \$5.60. Another group is saving a cent a day each to help us across the sea. More than one third of the whole amount was sent by seven people who could give little themselves but got others to help.

On one occasion a widow, struggling to keep home and family together by long hours of hard work, gave us a dollar. I tried to refuse it but she would not listen to me. Since then she has sent five more "to help you get back to those boys in India". It is a great responsibility to undertake to spend that money.

Another dear old saint who has seen nothing but hardship all her long useful life, lay dying when she heard of our difficulty. It pained her that she had nothing to give, until she thought of an idea. She said to her daughter "Tell everybody that I don't want flowers when I'm gone, but take the money they would have cost and send it to the Gardens to help them get back to India. It will not be much," she said pensively, "but it will be something". They sent us ten dollars. I am sure our sainted friend has no lack of riches in Glory.

These are only a few of the instances that have brought a deep inspiration to us. Do you see why we feel that our little troubles have really become a great blessing? How much of this joy we would have missed if we had had no difficulties to overcome. Of course I suppose we will worry again at the next spell of trouble that comes along, but at the same time we will be looking out for God's rainbow and its pot of gold. The best of all is that you are our rainbow and our blessing, and we are happy that we can try to thank you.

A letter the other day from Mrs Parker in India tells of their great relief at the news that we will return. She does not mention it but we have heard that she has been in the hospital due chiefly to ³⁰overwork. It is a great strain on her we are sure because she is conscientious in every little thing that she wears herself out. I am so glad that we can relieve her and Mr Parker to give their whole time to their own work. We got a great thrill when Mrs Parker wrote that on hearing in chapel of our plans to return, "the boys clapped and clapped!" We do love them all. We would so much like to go out at once to be there for the reopening of school in the middle of June, but we have only had a few weeks with our parents this furlough and we will not return from India for seven years more, so we plan to drive our old car to California for a month with Mr and Mrs Garden senior who have given 43 years of their lives in service in India. Driving back we will take an accommodation steamer direct to India. We find this will be the cheapest plan. We will sail from New York about July 2nd. We would love to hear from you then or any time. *June*

These letters are being sent out on the eve of our start west, so we hope you will excuse the absence of the personal footnote for which you have looked in disappointment. It bothers us to have to omit it.

Our address till *May* ~~June~~ 15th
657 Tuxedo Ave.
Stockton Calif.

Sailing and permanent address
C/o The Board of Foreign Missions
150 Fifth Ave.
New York

We are so sorry we were not home when you called. It was dear of you to come. A cable from India asks us to sail June 1. So we are going.

New York April 11
1931

Sincerely

George & Elsie Garden

George got the wrong address on this so it came back. I'm so sorry. But here it goes again
E.S.G.

3 April 1931

Kirby Page's new book, NATIONAL DEFENSE is an amazing and invaluable compilation of facts and figures, all woven into an impressive statement of the origin and results of war and the policy intelligent men will take to prevent war. Rarely does any book offer so much between two covers.

Norman Thomas

NATIONAL STUDENT COUNCIL

OF

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.

CABLE ADDRESS—EMISSARIUS, N. Y.

Affiliated with the

WORLD'S STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION

NATIONAL STUDENT ASSEMBLY

DAPHNE HUGHES President
University of Oregon

CAROLINE ZIEGLER Vice-President
Wellesley College

NATIONAL STUDENT COUNCIL

MRS. SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT
Chairman, Headquarters Committee
LESLIE BLANCHARD
Executive Secretary

Geneva Divisions

203 North Wabash Avenue - Suite 1000
Chicago, Illinois

April 15, 1931

Mr. Kirby Page,
347 Madison Avenue,
New York City

My dear Kirby:

I continue writing you that you may know how much we are depending upon your being at the Geneva Conference. The enthusiasm of the seniors and graduates for your leading a special group makes us feel that it will be necessary to release you from other things in order to do that. My freshest idea, however, is that you can take that group as your discussion group the second hour of the morning (which will be killing two birds with one stone) and still leave you free for a seminar hour that night. That is just a clever scheme on my part to get more work out of you who already work 24 hours a day at the conference.

We are now asking Paul Harris to lead the seminar on International Affairs. If he cannot come you are the only other person whom we want for that position.

For the special group I have in mind you might begin with them on discussion of what makes life most satisfactory which will lead into their appreciation of how life is released within oneself for the higher good of the development of the larger community. Because I'm trying that myself I know they, as well as I, will want special help on how that is done when the way ahead is so obscure and untravelled. That will lead definitely into your type of bible study through which they can see something of the way Jesus taught this could be accomplished. I am quite enthusiastic about the possibilities of such a group and am glad you are leading it. At the present, therefore, we are counting definitely upon your having the special group, holding the second hour each morning and again at the 4th if you would like, leaving the group free to investigate the areas of life during the evening seminars from the special point of view of your mornings work with them, or else they can meet with you again in the evening. My thought of their going into seminars in the evening was combined, of course, with the possible need of having you lead one seminar throughout or the necessity of bringing you into special seminars for particular work.

The one talk of which I wrote you is the only one which we have established so far as no speeches except the ones for the morning series have yet been arranged. I had hoped to write you more fully by this time but the committee meeting which we had planned will be impossible because of finances. I am leaving now, not to return to the office until the middle of May so will have to settle these plans by the slow method of correspondence. This will be a small matter to you, however, as you are accustomed to being asked for a few more hours of work each day on top of the 24 for which you are already scheduled.

The students, as well as the secretaries, greatly appreciate your coming to Geneva for the full time. We firmly believe your longer stay there in the past has made a difference upon the students in this region as they have talked afterwards of the quality of life in terms of your personality.

Sincerely,

Stella S.

Stella Scurlock,
National Student Secretary

SS:EMW

COPY

April 14, 1931

Dear Friend:

May I add a word to the cable which, with others, I sent you today. First let me emphasize the fact that the reason I previously gave against your coming to this country still holds now, and with increased force. Our papers have become increasingly sensational and you would be misrepresented by them, as well as exploited by the sensation hunting section of our population. Thus your power to help us toward a better way of life would be seriously diminished, if not defeated. But the other reason against your coming is more important. I am sure that it would injure and not help the cause of India in your negotiations at London. There is under the surface a deep English resentment against the United States. This is due to her economic decline and our position of financial dominance. This feeling quickly seizes upon any utterances about British policy as a means for its expression. Thus a perfectly harmless appeal that some of us signed to Macdonald last year to meet with you face to face and seek an adjustment, was the occasion of much criticism of those who signed it, and of America in general, from British ministers of religion. Also there has been much complaint in British papers concerning our sympathy with the nationalist cause. Because British propaganda no longer dominated the situation here we have been told that we were only the victims of clever propaganda from nationalist sources. You can see at once, therefore, that any manifestation of sympathy with India which your presence here might evoke, would work strongly against you at London.

With every good wish for your continued health, and for the success of your arduous undertaking, I am,

Faithfully yours,

Harry F. Ward.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi
The Ashram
Swarmarti near Ahmedabad
India.

Harry F. Ward

DL Paid

4/15/31

Sherwood Eddy
226/Eddy & Page

DL Paid

4/15/31

Mr. Sherwood Eddy,
c/o Lester Ellis,
City Y.M.C.A.,
Wichita, Kansas.

PICKETT OF PHILAD LPHIA QUAKERS HAS HAD WORD FROM GANDHI'S SECRETARY INTIMATING
POSSIBLE TRIP THIS COUNTRY STOP HAVE CONSULTED HOLMES WARD NEIBURER MCCONNELL ALL
FEEL KEENLY SUCH ACTION GREAT MISTAKE STOP WE PROPOSE SENDING CABLE FOLLOWS QUOTE
KEENLY DISTURBED BY RUMORS YOU MAY VISIT AMERICA STOP STRONGLY CONVINCED YOU WOULD
BE EXPLOITED BY PRESS STOP CONSEQUENT MISREPRESENTATION WOULD DO YOUR CAUSE IMMENSE
DAMAGE STOP REJOICE THAT FREEDOM FOR INDIA IS SO NEAR AND ASSURE YOU OUR UNWAVERING
DEVOTION UNQUOTE WIRE WHETHER YOUR SIGNATURE MAY BE USED.

KIRBY

DL Paid

4/14/31

Sherwood Eddy
226/Eddy & Page

DL Paid

4/14/31

Mr. Sherwood Eddy
c/o Jack Figley,
Y.M.C.A.,
Southwestern College,
Winfield, Kansas.

PICKETT OF PHILADELPHIA QUAKERS HAS HAD WORD FROM GANDHI'S SECRETARY INTIMATING
POSSIBLE TRIP THIS COUNTRY STOP HAVE CONSULTED HOLMES WARD HEIBUR MCCONNELL ALL
FEEL KEENLY SUCH ACTION GREAT MISTAKE STOP WE PROPOSE SENDING CABLE FOLLOWS QUOTE
KEENLY DISTURBED BY RUMORS YOU MAY VISIT AMERICA STOP STRONGLY CONVINCED YOU WOULD
BE EXPLOITED BY PRESS STOP CONSEQUENT MISREPRESENTATION WOULD DO YOUR CAUSE IMMENSE
DAMAGE STOP REJOICE THAT FREEDOM FOR INDIA IS SO NEAR AND ASSURE YOU OUR UNWAVERING
DEVOTION UNQUOTE WIRE WHETHER YOUR SIGNATURE MAY BE USED

KIMBY

American Friends Service Committee

20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia  Pennsylvania

Honorary Chairman, RUFUS M. JONES
Chairman, HENRY J. CADBURY
Treasurer, WILLIAM R. FOGG

Telephone
RITTENHOUSE 2765

Executive Secretary, CLARENCE E. PICKETT

SECTIONS

Foreign Service, WILLIAM EVES, 3rd, Chairman
Home Service, J. BARNARD WALTON, Chairman
Peace, VINCENT D. NICHOLSON, Chairman

APR 17 1931

Enc. _____

Post Sent _____

Represented by _____

Vice-Chairmen
HENRY TATNALL BROWN
HANNAH CLOTHIER HULL
W. O. MENDENHALL

Secretarial Staff

Ray Newton Elizabeth Marsh
Hugh W. Moore

Associate Secretaries

William B. Harvey J. Barnard Walton
Walter C. Woodward

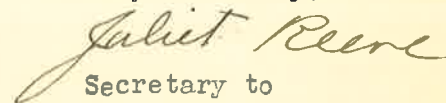
April 16, 1931

Mr. Kirby Page,
52 Vanderbilt Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Mr. Page:

Clarence Pickett would like to have a copy of the cable
which you sent to Mr. Gandhi yesterday.

Very sincerely,



Secretary to
Clarence E. Pickett.

DEPARTAMENTO DE
ESCUELAS DOMINICALES:
HUGH C. STUNTZ
PASEO COLÓN, 185
BUENOS AIRES, (R. A.)

PEDRO ZÓTTELE C.

JUNTA DE EDUCACION RELIGIOSA
DE LA
IGLESIA METODISTA EPISCOPAL
EN SUD AMÉRICA

DEPARTAMENTO DE
LA LIGA METODISTA:
SCOTT P. HAUSER
LAURA C. DE HAUSER
ADMINISTRACION:
MARÍA AGUIRRE A.

CASILLA 133-D
SANTIAGO DE CHILE

April 16, 1931

MAY 11 1931

Cash Encl.

Receipt Sent

Acknowledged by

Records made

Dr. Kirby Page
New York City.

My dear Dr. Page:-

I have desired to write to you for some time, now, but I did not desire to do so until you had arrived in the United States, from your trip to the Orient, and were in a position to be free to give a look down to these South American countries.

Since I returned from the U. S., in 1928, I have been working as best as I have been able to, in the purpose of fighting war and international hatred in Chile. The churches and some social centers have been eager to launch a decided campaign in favor of pacificism. I have done some publications along this line and, as authorized by you personally and through letter of Dr. Devere Allen, have used some of your wonderful material.

Now I wish to make a proposition to you. I have translated chapter IV of your booklet, "Christianity and World Problems: No. 1" War - Its causes, consequences and Cure". I find that its wide distribution among the peoples of Chile and of South America shall mean very much to the task of peace. I am wondering whether you could be able to help out financially in the publication of that chapter and then, with the product of the sales, we might be able to get about 3/4 of the money put in its publication. With this base of 3/4 of the amount put in, we might publish other things of yours to be distributed widely among the workers, employees and church members of all these countries.

With about 70.-- dollars, U. S. Cy. we could be in a position to print 1,000 copies of my translation of "War - Its causes, consequences and cure".

It is quite difficult to get any financial help right here in this country for the publications of materials along the mentioned lines, because the church peoples are, in general, quite poor and the outsiders, who are in a better condition financially, do not uphold the peace movement.

If you could see your way through for helping us along this line, you certainly would favor one of the most needy causes in Chile and South America.

May God continue to bless you upon your good work for the Kingdom.

Thanking you in advance for anything which you may do for us, I remain,

Your brother in Jesus Christ,

Pedro Zóttile C

THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

A Study of Public Opinion on International Affairs

ROOM 1404

31 UNION SQUARE
NEW YORK CITY

ALgonquin 4-7915



Committee

GOODWIN B. WATSON
Chairman

THERESA M. DURLACH
Treasurer

FRANZ BOAS
ALVIN C. GODDARD
CARLTON J. H. HAYES
S. M. KEENEY
ARTHUR L. SWIFT, Jr.

ROSWELL P. BARNES
Director

ELSIE LOWENBERG,
Research Secretary

April 17, 1931

Mr. Kirby Page
347 Madison Ave.
New York City

Dear Kirby:

The program for discussion next Monday, the 20th, at Labor Temple,
242 East 14th Street, is as follows:

- 10 A.M. The Class struggle: facts; our relation to the conflict.
Kirby Page, leader
- 2 P.M. Equality: in what sense is it desirable?
Reinhold Niebuhr, leader
- 6 P.M. Dinner, Labor Temple, \$1 by reservation
- 7 P.M. Personal and Family Budgets.
Leaders: several wives.

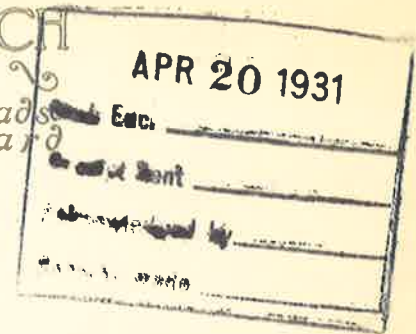
We hope you can be there for as much of it as possible, but we are particularly glad that you are going to help us with the morning.

Very sincerely yours,

RPB-el



PLYMOUTH CHURCH
OF SHAKER HEIGHTS
Coventry and Weymouth Roads
Near Shaker Boulevard
Cleveland.



Ministers:
MILES H. KRUMBINE
FREDERICK KUHN

April
eighteenth
1931

My dear Kirby:-

Thank you so much for sending me a copy of your book "National Defense". It looks fascinating and I shall take an early opportunity to explore it. Your work is always competent and well done and more than repays careful study. What a prodigious amount of research you do and how well you do it!

The worst thing about the way the universe is run is that you and I don't see each other oftener. What can we do about it?

As ever,

Miles

Kirby Page
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
The World Tomorrow
New York City

MHK-C

APR 20 1931

Recd. MISS CAROLINE B. LA MONTE
810 CHURCH STREET
BOUND BROOK
NEW JERSEY

April 18, 1931-

My dear Mr. Page,

It was a great surprise & pleasure to receive your book yesterday. I had just cut from the paper ^{your} formula to end man, and said "I must have the book".

I am sure you have again made a valuable contribution to the Great Cause.

Thanking you again for the gift, I am

Yours very sincerely

Caroline B. La Monte

April 19-1931

MRS. WILLIAM I. HULL
504 WALNUT LANE
SWARTHMORE, PENNSYLVANIA

APR 20 1931

Post Paid

Permit No. 1

City of New York

Post Office

My dear Mr Page
Mr Hull and

counting on procuring your
book "National Defense" and
now it has come to me
"with the compliments of
the Author". I do not
know why I am deserving
of this gift from you,
so all the more I am

most grateful and appreciation.
I have heard and referred
to as the most valuable
book against war that has
ever been written. The
Peace Movement owes you
a deep debt of gratitude.

It was a pleasure to
see you and to hear
you on Thursday evening.
Although I have not had
opportunity yet to read

your book, I have looked
through ^{table of} its contents,
which is most comprehensive
and interesting. I am
counting on using it as
one of my most valuable
text-books.

With renewed appreciation
and best wishes to you
always in your work, I am
Most sincerely
Harmon Elstner Hull

MRS. WILLIAM I. HULL
504 WALNUT LANE
SWARTHMORE, PENNSYLVANIA

April 19-1931

Daddy mine:

Glad things are coming along so well with the magazine prospects. I suppose the only thing to be done now is to raise the money to run it. Just how much more will you have to get? You have a better talking point now, but you will have to do some tall old talking to get the required thousands. What will your subscription price be when changed?

Had a letter from the boy this week for the first time since Easter time or rather a week before when he wanted permission for the trip. Said he really had no excuse for not writing, and the reason he had not sent me a picture was because

one and give to Perry. Perhaps it will keep him home for a couple of nights, and let Edith get a rest.

Will go up to Suffolk again on the 22nd for another week-end with your mother.

It is nice to get up there to see the green and quiet and talk with your mother. She needs a little letting off now and then. She seems to be doing very nicely.

The Parrishes are out often to work the ground they let them have and that helps.

Heaps and heaps and heaps and heaps
of love Always your own Alice.

They all made him look like 'a ape or a goofie'. Then he went on to say that the boy could not go with us "because he can't."

Did not hear from Sunshine last week.

Do you remember that solitaire game played with marbles, which Maud loaned Mary when she had her appendix out? Well, I made one with a cigar box and some paper to give to this fellow who is in bed for three months, but the family and all the customers got so interested in trying to play it that I had to make another before I could send this one to Riley. Now most of them are making one for themselves. I think I will make

C O P Y

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
Washington

April 20, 1931.

Dear Mr. Page:

I have your letter of the eighteenth together with the May copy of THE WORLD TOMORROW and the pamphlet on the Monroe Doctrine. I received last week the volume on NATIONAL DEFENSE. I have no doubt you have marshaled an immense amount of material as I know no one who can march and countermarch an array of facts more efficiently. You really ought to have been a lawyer but I presume the ethical atmosphere of my brotherhood is not attractive to a man of your idealism.

The hopes of an unmilitary world seem a little distant here in the constant volleys of military threats and conflicts that sound through the mails and cables but there has been so much change in outlook within my own lifetime that even a very practical and realistic mind ought not to mistake the fact of some progress in ideas. I shall read all you have written with much interest.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JAMES GRAFTON ROGERS

Mr. Kirby Page,
c/o The World Tomorrow,
52 Vanderbilt Avenue,
New York

See p 15

CONFERENCE OF SOCIALIST CHRISTIANS

Notes on Meeting at Labor Temple, 242 East 14th St., N.Y.C.

Monday, April 20, 1931.

10 A.M. The Class Struggle, Kirby Page, leader.

Mr. Page: Class lines are deepening and therefore the class struggle is a great deal more intense. The question open to discussion is the degree of violence that there is going to be in the class struggle. What kind of a class struggle? What should be the attitude of persons like ourselves toward the violent class struggle?

There is an immense amount of violence thruout history and the evidence is disturbing.

An article by J. P. Adams entitled, "Our Lawlessness", Atlantic Monthly, Dec. 1928.

Thruout our social history we have had violence of every sort on a disturbing scale from the Indian struggle right on down -- the lawlessness of the frontier and the pioneer. The extent to which racketeering is considered in this country in industrial cities and metropolitan districts. Communities where racketeering is an accepted practice. Recent trend with regard to labor racketeering.

The economic depression with consequent misery accentuates the tendency to violence. The bankers journals have stopped the Pollyanna attitude. They give warnings and caution that we must not expect too much to happen soon. It is disturbing because the reserves of many people are being exhausted. The second, third and fourth years bring more misery than the first. There will be misery such as we have not seen in this country. This will intensify the tendency toward violence. A feeling of futility is being created. Nothing is being done either by the employers or by the workers. Hopelessness and despair. Little constructive planning by organized groups such as the A. F. of L. The feeling that nothing is happening, that nothing will happen, strengthens the tendency toward violence. The active part that is now being played by the Communists. With their open gospel of violence, the determination to take advantage of the present situation. This gives a disturbing picture. Misgivings as to the industrial future of this country during the next decade. More temptation to use violence than we have ever had before because people are likely to be in a more responsive mood.

Conclusion: Must there be increasing violence?

The book "Dynamite", by Louis Adamic, gives a final summary of the history of American Industrial Relations. The following is quoted from P. 434 of the above:

"Hence, from increasing misery, there must come more violence, both racketeering and idealistic, in the American class struggle. Wherever I go among the underdog element and talk with the jobless and the ill paid, I hear emphatic expression in favor of violence as the only means to better their condition. All the jobless and the poor cannot get into the criminal and semi-criminal rackets; so in their desperation, they think of social violence such as was advocated and practised by Louis Lingg, Bill Haywood, the McNamaras. The Communist slogan is 'Fight or Starve'."

Can you get the social changes that are needed except by violence? What is the answer of people like ourselves to the situation which they have in Russia? In Russia they use this method successfully. Because it is successful there, is it the only method that will work anywhere else? We have no right to dodge it and give too easy an answer to it. It is the most difficult of arguments we have to

meet. Apparent success of violence in Russia. Apparent aggressiveness of their movement. Significance of that point of view. The facts are we need to get balance and perspective. Objective for the Communists and appears the ideal. It is difficult to prove that they have succeeded. Should not discount the success that they accomplished. Disparity between their objective and their achievement. They have not achieved their ideal. There is right now in Russia as much or more poverty as in most other countries in the world. Absurd, therefore, to say the Bolsheviks have eliminated poverty and slums. There is more overcrowding in Moscow today than in any big city in the world.

Their ideal, the ideal of freedom. That ideal has not been achieved. As much tyranny there today as in most countries. There is a privileged class in Russia today. Millions of people today who are victims of tyranny. Gulf between ideal and achievement. Relative success that the Bolsheviks have achieved by violence.

There is an explanation at every point for their failure. Even tho you concede for the moment that in Russia the Communists have succeeded by violence and are ready to build a new society, will this same method bring similar success if you use it elsewhere? Need to examine the relative success that they have accomplished in Russia. Difference between Russia and the great industrial countries.

Four factors in the situation which have direct bearing upon the efficacy of their method:

1. In America we have a tradition and experience of relative prosperity which Russia never had. In America, while we have always had poverty, relatively, we have known prosperity to an extent that is not known elsewhere. That makes a big difference.

2. Liberality: If a country has never known freedom, the continuance of tyranny is less disturbing than if you have had a tradition of a relatively large degree of freedom. Americans have never been as free as we thought we have. There is in this country, relatively, a maximum amount of freedom and liberty. If traditions are traditions of individual liberty, will they be willing to accept a dictatorship?

3. The difference in the degree of industrialization in the respective countries. To build up industrialism where communities are not very well advanced in industrialism. It is apparent that dislocation with disruption would be inevitable in a very highly industrialized country.

There was a breakdown in Russia for two years. The amount of disruption in the major means of production and distribution. That brought much misery in 1920 and 1921. Compare the situation in the U. S. if you had a collapse of the industrial system as the result of violence and disruption. The effect in our urban communities would be appalling. A 25% reduction in the efficiency of distribution would bring a tremendous amount of misery.

4. Opposition: The resistance with which the Communists were met in Russia was practically nil -- very feeble. Revolution was caused by the old system. Internal opposition was serious, but relatively, it was feeble. Feeble in relation to the resistance you would have in this country. For fifty years or one hundred years the owning class in this country are going to have a great amount of power.

The four factors in combination seem to be overwhelming. It seems utterly fantastic to imagine an industrial revolution in this country that will not bring untold misery.

The evidence is disturbing. They have had violence on an appalling scale. Will be tempted to resort to it still more.

There is a good deal of romanticism about the Bolsheviks in Russia. They are nowhere near success.

They were interested in bringing about a new society in which people will have a decent livelihood. We have to abandon the expectation that that can be brought about by violence. What is the nature of the alternative of violence? Six points to be made on this subject:-

1. We commit ourselves to the task of making radical changes in the existing order. This cannot be accomplished by lukewarm methods. The task is a radical task.

2. The effort to diminish the amount of violence used by the owning, employing class. Opening the eyes of the employing group to the peril of violence on the part of the employing group. If they continue to use violence, the working class will use violence. The only possible way to diminish it is to make an impression upon the owning classes.

The Communists say it is a futile undertaking. They were beaten on this point. If this is so, we will not prevent the use of violence in this country if something is not done to open the eyes of the big employers in this country. Unless we get them to abandon many of the types of violence that they are using, there is not one chance in a million of avoiding civil war in this country.

3. We must get the State to use less violence in the class conflict. If you assume that owners and public officials on the other hand use violence, then it is obvious that the workers will resort to violence. There is the closest partnership between the state authorities and the owning and employing class. Always involved in a denial of freedom of speech and denial of the right to meet. If we cannot get the state to refrain from violence, then the workers will not be peaceful in seeking justice.

4. We must commit ourselves without reservation to collective action by the workers. Neutrality and impartiality on the part of the middle class seems futile.

In addition to that, we have got to bring temporary relief to the suffering masses of this country by an extensive program of social insurance. Get rid of the extremes of misery. Can only be dealt with adequately by a vast program of state aid. Must relieve misery at the bottom.

If we want to avoid these possibilities, we must limit the amount of power in the hands of the owning group. Use three devices: Taxation, public ownership and public regulation. Taxation an instrument for limiting the power of the owning group -- Income taxes, inheritance taxes. Much more drastic regulation of all aspects of our industrial system.

Discussion

Mr. Niebuhr: The speaker began by assuming the necessity of a class struggle. The middle class obscures the class struggle. The middle class are not conscious of the class struggle. But we think we can overcome the class struggle. A great deal of hypocrisy because of the fact that the church tries to obscure the class struggle. The class struggle a dogma rather than a fact of history.

Mr. Barnes: The middle class observes the rapid progress of social legislation in New York State and assumes that employment insurance and old age pensions will be able to take care of it all.

Mr. Schulz: Actually, this device concentrates power instead of diversifying it. In the end, only the man who has the power, actually controls the wealth of vast numbers of people.

Mr. Barnes: Recent history of England: We may learn from England how to mitigate situation with minimum of violence.

Mr. Gallagher: We seem to equate violence and class conflict. Americans tend to confuse the issue. Is there a unanimity of interest between the classes? The workers think they are going to get into the owning class sometime, so they bear up under it. The class conflict, as such, is really deeper than the violence that breaks out.

Mr. Daniels: Are we more interested in the establishment of justice or the avoidance of violence? Most emphasis to be upon the establishment of justice. We may believe that the use of violence is politically as well as ethically wrong. Liberalism, used to obscure the brutalities of the class struggle, is no tenable position.

This group must be on the left side of the radical group. Its ethical interests will be chiefly social justice rather than class violence.

_____: The class struggle in terms of the middle class. Where should we be? Who are the parties of the class struggle as the lines are now drawn?

Mr. Schulz: Norman Thomas gives the middle class no significant part in the class struggle.

_____: If we get in, we will almost have to commit violence in order to be a part of this party!

_____: The Church offers a platform for influencing the middle class chiefly. If we cannot present a cause in which we can win for them a place as allies, then there is no effective place for the middle class. We do not have a very effective place in this class struggle.

_____: Has the middle class a sufficient understanding of the question? Have we an opportunity in guiding a small minority to see this fact of the class struggle?

Mr. Schulz: There will be some people who will look at the class struggle from the standpoint of the total needs. Even Lenin accepted this theory. There is a place for a middle class movement only if it definitely sees the realities of the class struggle and alligns itself with it.

Mr. Daniels: When the crisis comes, there is no question that the middle class will be on the opposition side to the workers.

Mr. Gallagher: What keeps you, (Daniels) from doing it? Is it because your income is three times as big as that of the working class people?

Mr. Page: This group, (Conference of Socialist Christians) can function to the left as to ideas, but not as to actions. The group can function to the left only in their ideas, but not in actuality. Only one in about one thousand would be able to do it. Gleason said several years ago, "The place for radicals is in the middle class."

Mr. Schulz: Daniels is trying to get an absolute identification with the working class group.

_____: We ought to admit that there is a middle class group which should function as a middle class group. With all its thinking and all its actions, it will still be a middle class group.

_____: The outcome to be determined by the influence of the middle class in this country.

Mr. Barnes: If you are not going to use violence, you must use political influence.

Mr. Gallagher: There is no middle class in the sense of neutrality.

Mr. Niebuhr: In Germany you do not have any such thing as any one middle class. You have in Germany a clear political expression of the psychology of each class. In Germany you have different kinds of middle class.

Mr. Daniels: One of the difficulties about Communism: The farmers will not be on the side of the workers because there is a conflict between them and the workers' party. You must cut thru by force because the farmers can never be won to socialism. It narrows down to the working class as the leaders in the class struggle. The working class leaders have not been touched yet.

_____: If it is hopeless to reach the middle class and the working class, then where are we?

Mr. Van Dusen: Are you assuming that the class struggle is going to be a significant fact in American life on the whole, or that it will be a small movement among the minority?

_____: The class struggle is going on right now, whenever you have economic factors settled by one group at the expense of another. The class struggle is a reality in the life of our time.

_____: The answer will be in the outcome of this depression and subsequent depressions. Many think that this depression is not an inherent breakdown in the present economic machinery.

_____: Ought we think of the class struggle in terms of the values it holds for American society? Should our efforts not be thrown into precipitating the class struggle? Should it not be made to exist when it is there in the economic realities? Any group dealing with the ethical realities of society, must be able to recognize the facts.

Mr. Van Dusen: What are you going to say to the middle class? 1. There is a class war coming. The drive behind it is the drive of force; or 2. The other argument -- There is not a class war coming, but there ought to be. Can you with honesty paint an impending class war in this country?

_____: Your appeal has got to be on the idealistic basis.

Mr. Schulz: Is the point social peace or social justice? Emphasis only gives us the point of social peace, but not social justice. The business of the people to see to emphasis of justice rather than peace.

_____: There may not be violence now, but there certainly is class conflict. This means conflict of interests. Can you say that there is not a class conflict because an individual or a group is not conscious of it?

Mr. Niebuhr: It is a sign of one's economic maturity to recognize that there is a class conflict.

Mr. Gallagher: Our task would be to make those who have power relinquish it more easily. Our point should be that there is a class conflict. Whether consciously or unconsciously we should admit this.

_____: The success with which capitalism was making the lower classes identify themselves with capitalism. Now we are repudiating this argument.

Mr. Barnes: Is it class, or is it group conflict?

_____: The people who own property use the power of property for social power.

Mr. Barnes: Those who do not hold property do not regard the conflict in those terms.

Mr. Daniels: There are historical reasons why we have minimized the class struggle in this country. Ten thousand people in Philadelphia have learned what class struggle means. It is dangerous to say that there is going to be no transference of power without violence. We are working for the cause of social justice. In social strategy nobody can ever tell just what is going to happen.

Mr. Bennett: If you combine pressure with a great faith in non-violence, why would it not be possible to have social change without violence in this country?

Mr. Page: That is assuming that you can get social justice by violence. It may be that you cannot get social justice with violence.

Mr. Bennett: We should advocate such effective non-resistance methods that we will help to avert it or mitigate it.

Mr. Niebuhr: In any specific issue you have violence, and violence always drives the bystanders into the arms of the reactionary. The threat of violence solidifies the various groups into one.

_____: Is the constant threat of violence which the Communist is holding before society doing harm?

Mr. Page: What is our message to the middle class?

_____: The capitalistic system as such, we are opposed to. It is something that we feel is antithetical to our religion.

Mr. Niebuhr: Who are the left wing capitalists? The two best known are Henry Ford and Owen Young. The middle class world is captivated by what these two have accomplished. Wherever you have unlimited wealth, you are not going to get anything like social justice.

Mr. Page: After all, this is a matter of relativity. It is always a matter of relative standards which is the important aspect. Who are the parties in this class struggle as various people see them now?

Mr. Niebuhr: It is pretty definitely between the people who hold property and the people who don't.

Mr. Barnes: You can't tell on that basis. The manager class do not own, but identify their interests with the owning class.

_____: Is the important fact the fact that people love peace?

Mr. Van Dusen: Is it not more a matter of the economic standard of living and the degree to which they are satisfied with the standard of living which they have got? Or are they afraid of changes?

_____: We must remind them that the cards are going to be reshuffled.

_____: Do you rely primarily on the threat of force when you say that the storm is going to break?

Mr. Van Dusen: Is it justifiable to use this argument if it does not correspond to the facts? If you line up people and tell them there is going to be a class war and then there is no class war, then where will you be? How much apocalypticism is valid in our day?

Mr. Schulz: Emphasis must be on social justice rather than on whether or not we are going to have violence or not.

Mr. Bennett: Emphasis should be upon revealing the facts of the situation.

Mr. Van Dusen: The type of message should be that society is organized upon principles which are obviously unjust. 1. A person takes it up simply on the basis that a revolution ought to occur. 2. The strategy of preparing for this revolution.

Mr. Niebuhr: The people who set the tone are the people who hold property for power. Where does the middle class come in? There is a part of the middle class that is always being pressed into the proletarian group. The farmer cannot fit into any one group. He constitutes a group of his own.

_____ : The important thing is not the classification. The important thing is, what is this group going to do about it?

Mr. Niebuhr: Is it not clear that we have no hope of converting the middle class? You want to get hold of a few people on an out and out and a thoroughly intelligent basis.

Mr. Barnes: That is really the assumption on which this group is brought together.

_____ : If this group cannot do anything, how does it help to bring others to it?

_____ : Is it not desirable to bring all parts of the middle class as far as they can go? That is done by individuals rather than by a group. It is important that the group as a group have a standard that is left wing.

_____ : We would have quite a program if we can get the Christian Church behind a program of advancing social justice. That would be the practical application of this whole message.

Discussion on the Future of the Fellowship.

_____ : Are we going to admit people to the group who are not definitely committed to Socialism?

_____ : The idea that we ought to have our membership a purely Socialist membership. This group can be nothing more than a liberal group if it does not know exactly where it is going. By doing this, we will embarrass the Socialist Party.

Mr. Barnes: This group is not an organization so it cannot have an official organ.

_____ : Our hope is to work both from the standpoint of the Church and from the standpoint of politics.

Mr. Henson: We should make it important that persons who wish to come in with us should at least be as radical as Socialists.

_____ : Membership should not be on the basis of radical beliefs, but only tactics.

_____ : To start out with the assumption that violence is to be preferred because it is inevitable, is the Communist theory.

Mr. Bennett : If we want to stand to the left of the Labor group, we must go as far as the Communists go. Our only difference is a difference in tactics. The Socialist group does not want as complete equality as the Communist group.

Mr. Niebuhr: The left wing group in England or Germany has never given up the ideal of an absolutely equal society.

Mr. Chaffee: The Communist expresses the idea of tactics chiefly. The Communist absolutely emphasizes violence. He prefers it and would rather have it.

_____ : We don't want to draw the lines too tightly. There has been the suggestion that this is going to be a closed corporation.

_____ : What are we going to do about organization? How much of an organization are we going to have? How much are we going to get little groups in other parts of the country? What we need above all is the discipline of the group. Let this group grow as it will grow, and forget about a fairly definite organization.

Mr. Trimble: What has been happening in Boston? In the Theological Schools there has been a considerable sentiment for Pacificism.

_____: Is this group going to confine itself chiefly to missionary work in the middle class? That is the way it starts out because most of us are doing missionary work of one kind or another.

Mr. Niebuhr: Suppose we went into the matter of income and expenditure. Suppose a part of the group which had income which was more than it felt itself justified to have, would pool part of that income. The possibility that we would actually maintain one or two persons in exposed positions in the industrial struggle.

Mr. Gallagher: Get vicarious participation in the thing that way. One of the great difficulties is to have social experience beyond your own experience.

Mr. Bennett: We have very definitely organized loosely. The field has not been exhausted. But we have been waiting for some agreement on policy.

_____: Is the general feeling of the group that this is going to be a pretty definite organization that can venture out in support of certain opinions?

_____: As originally planned, this was to be a movement of leaders. If you are going to confine it to New York City, and not have it get to any other group, you are not going to have any effective leadership.

Mr. Barnes: The less expansion you do at the beginning, the better. This is supposed to be an organization of men who are leaders, but have done something or intend to do something. One of the essentials is a concrete, definite program of specific things to tackle.

_____: Do we differentiate ourselves from the F. O.R.?

_____: Supposing this group's chief interest is to be social justice in the industrial struggle? In the F.O.R. it is the leaders who do things.

Mr. Matthews: The complexion of the International F.O.R. -- It is primarily interested in the idea of International peace.

Mr. Page: The F.C.S.O. was made up of Liberals who were not going in any definite direction, but were vaguely discontented.

2 P. M. Equality. Reinhold Niebuhr, leader.

It is the business of reason to establish its concepts in terms of some general truth. We cannot believe in value except we can bring our scheme of value into terms with the whole scheme of value. Anything that we call good for ourselves must be good for others. Society does not begin by reasoning about its goals. In its non-rational life at least, the strong in society take what they can get. Society is usually organized around strength. When men begin to reason about their own life, they begin to reduce privilege to the common good. We live in a society which finds it impossible to hold to a privilege without justifying it in terms of the common good.

It is possible for people to save money even if you don't pile it up in large chunks for production. You must have inequality of returns in order to encourage saving, the idea being that if you do not offer a special prize for saving, there will be no saving. The wealth which is being used for industry is the wealth which comes from the people who have been in at the beginning of the productive process. They are getting besides, the wealth which is return on the investment. You

have to have wealth as an incentive to energy. Some justification for that. Communists have changed their view point somewhat in this matter. It is impossible to pay the same wage because the lazy members would live off the others. What man seems to desire most is social approval. Find as much in the recognized approval as in the monetary reward. Equality of opportunity and equality of reward. If there is justification, then there must be justification for reward in order to create the highest incentive.

Charles Schwab at a Wall St. meeting said that you had to pay big salaries in wages in order to make men feel big and if you don't make men feel big, they don't feel as if they were doing a big job.

Another way in which we justify privilege in terms of the common good is to say that some people have to have special privileges in order that they may give themselves to the highest values -- Cultural values have to be rooted in privilege. We academics are the ones who spend the most time justifying our "cultural" needs. In Russia many cultural values will disappear in the next few years. Pure science and pure art will suffer. Any kind of science which does not contribute immediately to the class struggle will disappear.

Bertrand Russell says cultural value which the whole community can share is the justified privilege.

Every kind of a justification of special privilege in terms of the general good is, however, not valid at all or has less validity than is generally given it. If they have enough social experience to recognize how other people would use this privilege, then I am forced to build a harmony of goods in which the good of another person has a relationship to my good or to my value.

There has been a very slight tendency to equalitarianism. Examples:
1. Equality among the sexes. But the five leading women's colleges have less endowment in toto than the fifth highest of the leading men's colleges. In a wealthy, privileged family, the man, who holds the power, will give more toward his own college than he would to his wife's. 2. A slight tendency toward equality in law. On the one hand law is an effort of the community to establish special rights. On the other hand, law is the process of one class hiding its weakness. 4. The matter of democracy. Today the great fight for equality must be directed against the people who use the symbols of democracy.

Everywhere a slight equalitarian tendency in history coming out of the extension of rationality.

Why not a greater sweep toward equality in history?

1. There are forces in history itself which destroy equality as equality has itself been created by mind. First the difficulty of organizing a large communal unit. The necessity of associating privilege with power. The priest kings maintained social coherence better than the warrior kings. Did not have to use physical power because their privilege was high and their prestige was given them because of their privilege.

2. The more impersonal the relationships became, the more inevitably privilege was introduced.

3. The more complex the community becomes, the more inevitable it is that you will have the differentiation of privilege and function. The more complex the state becomes, the more necessary it is to use some central authority.

On the one hand, the development toward equalitarianism in history and on the other hand, the development away from equalitarianism.

Civilization is the greatest enemy that brotherhood has.

The most important of all are the rights of property -- originally associated with function. Man has used his privilege to increase his privilege and later bequeath his privilege to his children. Bequeathing privilege that is associated with social function to a new generation where you have no guarantee that the new generation would carry on this function.

The factors in the social order which create equality: While reason on the one hand is forced to drive in the direction of equality, reason on the other hand is forced to drive in the direction of inequality. Reason is inconsistent. To extend it to the mind and intelligence is insufficient. This is the mistake which modern education makes. Uses our intelligence for the purpose of rationalizing our particular position. In the whole of life, reason is used for the purpose of rationalizing our special privileges. The best proof of the fact that equality will never be reached by extension of mind.

This means that the struggle for equality is partly a rational process and on the other hand, partly a natural process. It means that those who lack privilege must fight to get their privilege. Reason and nature. The strong fight the weak and the weak unite in order to overcome the strong.

On the other hand, you do have man less and less secure in the possession of his privilege, so that the extension of mind is not a negligible force; but it is an inadequate force.

There will always be some people reasonable enough to detach themselves from the privileged position; others who feel a lack of pressure; other who will be just reasonable enough when the pressure comes, to yield, whereas, if they were absolutely sure, they would not yield at all. Example: Lord Irwin, a man who fights for his class and cast and opinion, but who knows when to yield when the final moment of pressure comes.

When you produce this slight degree of patience, you will also be reducing the vehemence with which the under-privileged group fights. That is a loss, but for every rational analysis and for every loss of emotional fervor, you would have a corresponding loss of fervor in the holding group. Then you might have an advancing group which is not quite so vehement and a more advanced holding group. A class group is never under the illusion that they can abolish this struggle. In the final analysis, will operate against an absolute goal. But you cannot let intelligence go too far for then you could not do anything but observe.

Walter Lippman says: "You must have something of an absolute goal in order to get any advance at all."

It is possible, on the basis of intelligence to have pretty definite goals, if you don't let the business of analysis lead you astray too far.

You cannot put one thing ahead of another if you act on faith. You choose your ultimate value as a matter of faith. The intellectual task of finding out what these values are. Put this in terms of the local minister. What is it going to mean for us in the struggle for equality in our own churches? To justify the course that seems to be the highest. This will suffice for your method of work in a church.

Primarily we choose between equality and inequality. Religion should lead this thing into the clear light and dramatize it. The example of a minister who has convinced his congregation of the necessity of fighting in a liberal way.

How far is equality a rational goal of society? The only way to maintain an equalitarian society is by destroying freedom. The drive of powerful men is so tremendous, the only way you can check it is to have tremendously powerful central or social authority.

Some of the greatest contributions made to society by individuals who could never have made them if not allowed to function as individuals.

Rather than have a tyrannical society, I would have a society which establishes the largest amount of equality. Making equality the highest -- not absolute equality.

I would make equality of opportunity an absolute, but not so sure about equality of reward. The Russians are trying to solve this problem.

In the final analysis, it comes to this. How much do we trust society? Everything that you find wrong today, won't be that way in the Socialist society. I think that society will be in the end -- made up of an unimaginative bulk. You will not be able to get in society, the type of imagination that you can get in a type of individuals.

Discussion

Mr. Schulz: Amount of confidence in human nature in the mass, even in an ideal society. A great many of the wrongs ascribed to capitalism are the wrongs of society, which is nature.

Mr. Daniels: Individuals act differently in society than they would as individuals. Society is always based on the lowest common denominator.

Mr. Niebuhr: In the class struggle if people in the advancing group recognize that there may be an amount of integrity, then there will be less resistance in the holding group.

_____: Why not rely on education alone?

Mr. Niebuhr: You cannot do this because it is not enough. You cannot depend upon education because education is not doing the job. Neither can you depend upon violence or social strategy alone. Use those types of pressure which least embarrass the process of education.

Mr. Daniels: Wherever a cordial relationship exists, it obscures the facts. This is true of philanthropy.

Mr. Niebuhr: You are saying that everything that man pretends to be above the brute level is illusion and that is not true.

_____: The two groups have one thing in common because they are both human beings.

_____: The social situation is so much more desperate than the middle class are willing to admit that there is a necessity for some action on the part of the Communists. Example:- Detroit, where there is no leadership and where the situation has recently been taken in hand by the Communists.

_____: The Communist threat in a middle class world like our world is a dangerous situation.

_____: Would it be profitable to consider the steps necessary for class conflict? Giving people an opportunity for health and education and security?

Mr. Niebuhr: Would we be agreed as Socialists that anything which restricts the rights of property would be in the direction of social justice? Is the weakest point in private property its right to bequeath property to the next generation?

_____: The more fundamental problem is the means by which this private property is accumulated.

Mr. Daniels: How far does over-nationalization touch this question of inequality? The type of nationalization within the country itself makes social change much more difficult. Does property inequality mitigate against intrinsic inequality?

_____: Where would be the Church's point of attack? Complete honesty on the part of individual ministers.

_____ : Is there a chance that we can so draw the lines that the middle class would become allies of the Proletariat?

Mr. Barnes: Necessity for making a division within the middle class. The lower middle class is actually being driven into the Proletarian group and the upper into support of the owning group. We must be careful not to assume that the Churches are working only with the middle class. Some are making progress who are working with the owning class, or the upper class.

Mr. Niebuhr: The Church should develop what it has in the Christian ethic in terms of the middle class struggle. Frequently these idealisms obscure the fact. We should have many working class churches which recognize the class struggle and yet preserve some of the ideals. Example of the Catholic Church in Germany.

_____ : It is a fact that we are human beings and not just simply workers. If you emphasize class conflict too much it becomes dangerous. You must have a Church which recognizes the fact that we are fighting for certain rights, but which also recognizes that we are human beings.

_____ : Is there danger in the increased respectability of Socialism?

_____ : The respectability of Socialism depends upon the section of the country in which you live.

_____ : It makes a difference how far Socialism is identified with the Socialist party.

Mr. Niebuhr: The German idea of gradually acquiring equalitarianism. In Germany today there are only 25,000 people who have a net income of over \$5,000. There are advantages in the social life of Germany in comparison to the social life of Russia. Every effort to make the Communist scheme authoritative for every community is unrealistic, in view of a modern industrial society. There is a drive to equalitarianism going on all the time. Example: - England and Germany.

_____ : The three points of equality that Tawney points out -- Why cannot they be achieved by a fairly liberal program instead of a Socialistic program? Adequate security involving full social insurance, old age pensions, the right of children to an education up to college:-- That will demand that a strong labor group is advancing and bringing pressure to bear in the face of middle class opposition. The middle class group will never hand this power over to the labor group. It will not be handed over except there is tremendous pressure from the bottom by a labor group.

Mr. Bennett: Summary of the problem:-- Granted you have got to have this, what is to be the relationship of the Church toward it? What is the relationship of the organized Christian group toward the class war?

Mr. Daniels: You can defend the right and necessity to organize.

_____ : Can you get across to them the beneficial outcome of such an organization?

Mr. Niebuhr: You can get a middle class group to concede that equality has never been handed down and that it depends upon pressure from the bottom.

Mr. Daniels: Will they admit that pressure from the bottom will bring equality?

Mr. Trimble: You cannot go completely over to the other, (radical) side without losing your church, made up of a middle class congregation -- Referring to the situation in the Lawrence, Mass. Church.

_____ : What is the Church to say to the laboring class? Can you preach labor class interests to a labor class congregation?

Mr. Niebuhr: You ought to have a Church which is definitely alligned with the labor group. It would have to be a labor group which would be definitely radical and the Church would help them to realize the realities of the class struggle and yet preserve spiritual values.

Mr. Barnes: The trouble is that you think of the Church as an isolated local unit with each local unit championing its own group. You must think of the Church as a more general and universal institution. The problems of the Labor Temple and the problems of the Park Avenue Church are the same problems. How can we try to unite them on an assumption of class conflict?

Mr. Niebuhr: Suppose all three classes are represented in that church? The voice of labor will not be heard in that church.

Mr. Barnes: You can make pronouncements in behalf of the labor cause.

_____: The purpose is to intensify the conflict between the classes. You do not get a clear commitment in any given group.

_____: The Church as a whole is related to American middle class life in its prejudices. If you want something more, you will have to have something from the inside to throw that into the total relationship of the group.

Mr. Barnes: If you set up definitely labor churches, then you would have them discounted by the Church at large.

Mr. Gallagher: The question of equality -- There must be a certain amount of emotional drive toward equality. How much are we going to develop the moral drive toward equality which seems essential? In my contact with business leaders, they see what needs to be done, but there is no moral initiative there that would make them want to do anything about it.

Mr. Barnes: In talking about class, we are unjust in our blanket condemnation of what we call the upper class.

_____: A group with this much economic security does not have the fears that the middle class has. There are a good many whose position is not purely on economic grounds. They have a cultural tradition. They can lose their economic standing, but still know that they are gentlemen -- because of their culture. Not so much worried as the middle class. If the middle class man loses his economic standing, he loses the only thing which sets him apart from the lower class. The upper class are not a bit more jealous of privilege or economic power than the upper middle class.

_____: The cultured, educated class is the result of economic security.

Mr. Bennett: What are the conclusions for the Protestant middle class Church?

Mr. Barnes: The middle class is as hopeless as the upper class. The men preaching to the middle class have the hardest job. The middle class is much more anxious to shift to the right than the right are to stay there.

_____: You cannot work on this problem from the standpoint of individuals in the owning group. Where do you draw the line between this and paternalism? Some of these people see this problem but are lacking any moral compulsion to do something about it.

_____: The answer is to tell them the facts. Education -- giving them the facts.

Mr. Barnes: We must not think that the owning class is any more jealous of its privilege than the upper middle class.

_____: By the labor church, do you mean the class conscious labor church?

Session Continued at 4:45, John Bennett Presiding.

Problems of organization of this Fellowship and discussion of possible next steps. Sum up where things seem to stand now.

1. Generally agreed that there is room for such a movement as we contemplate.

2. The Executive Committee felt that we ought to concentrate at the beginning upon this group in the vicinity of New York and not think, at the beginning, of a national movement, but think of making this more effective.

As soon as you have a national movement, the problem of doing anything together becomes very serious.

That would not preclude the organization of and co-operation with groups if they were formed in other centers.

3. Another thing they agreed upon was that we should not seek a large mail membership. Should have associated with us only those who are able to meet with us. Do not mean to discourage those who live elsewhere and are interested enough to attend the discussions.

The most important problem has to do with membership. Things to be considered:

1. The form of membership.
2. The particular projects that you will have most in mind.
3. Finances.
4. Some discussion of the statement that has already been worked out.

The Committee had next suggested that the best method of dealing with membership would be to let things stand as they are, except for existing members who wanted to bring others in but who feel that this is a check upon the membership if the members who were suggested by individuals were accepted by the Committee. We should not have a rigid test, but should have a clear cut statement of where we stand. Anyone who would not accept this statement would not desire to become a member.

Reading of statement on "The Fellowship of Socialist Christians". The question before us is -- how far is this statement as it stands an adequate means of selecting members? Would we want to leave it to this to exclude members? We should ask our membership to take a definite part in social action on behalf of justice. At least, it would mean seeking action thru political channels.

Discussion

_____: That seems to differentiate us from everything that has gone before in religious groups.

Mr. Henson: The possibility of admitting someone who, for instance, might join John Dewey's group, etc.

_____: The concern is, not to have people spilling over from the right.

_____: Is not the name going to designate us?

Mr. Gallagher: We are within the Socialist group and not building up another organization, and not pulling off from them because they are un-Christian.

_____: The possibility of other fields for radical action outside political activity. In political activities, it is the Socialist party that we are lined up with.

Mr. Chaffee: If it were conceivable, would this group be satisfied to have a Communist such as Anna Rochester join?

Mr. Schultz: One of the primary actions for which we stand is political action as a means of obtaining our goal. Would membership be based upon this point?

_____ : What would we gain by having people with us who do not believe in taking political action? It would work out practically that those who do not find themselves in sympathy with the group would eventually be dropped from this group. We would embarrass the Socialist party if our members did not take political action.

_____ : In the total statement, we should have a statement about our philosophy about political action. The point is that we do favor political action and we should state the reasons why we do favor it. We may not accept the Socialist party in toto. It does not commit you to vote the straight ticket every time. Active support would mean membership in the Socialist Party plus.

Terms: This statement plus some elaboration of the sixth point should guide the Executive Committee in choosing members. Nominations can come from any member, and must be approved by the Committee on the basis of this statement.

_____ : We should have this statement as a minimum working statement rather than an exhaustive statement.

It is moved that the statement be adopted conditioned upon the editing of the last three points.

Motion adopted.

Election of Executive Committee: Each person to vote for seven persons to be members of an Executive Committee and that the seven highest be chosen. This method of selection moved and seconded.

Results of voting: Executive Committee chosen: R. Barnes; J. Bennett; D. Currie; B. Gallagher; F. Henson; R. Niebuhr; F. Wilson.

Discussion of the Matter of Finances

What would be the best way for getting enough money to run on?

It depends upon the policy adopted in regard to membership.

Expense of getting up meeting and getting out notices.

If we do not expand, \$2 from each member should take care of it. Motion made that we have an assessment of \$2. Motion passed.

Discussion of Subject of Next Meeting

Suggested that they be held more often. Suggested that meeting be held every six weeks. Suggested that meetings be more frequent, but shorter meetings. But this would be discouraging to out of town members.

A morning and afternoon session on May 18th suggested for next meeting.

Motion seconded and passed.

Suggested that the first meeting in the fall be held October 11th.

Meeting adjourned.

Note: These notes are as full and accurate as we could make them. Are they useful to you?

REV. B. G. GALLAGHER
160 HIGH STREET
PASSAIC, NEW JERSEY

Roswell P. Barnes
Secretary

American Friends Service Committee

20 South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia  Pennsylvania

Honorary Chairman, RUFUS M. JONES

Chairman, HENRY J. CADBURY

Treasurer, WILLIAM R. FOGG

SECTIONS

Foreign Service, WILLIAM EVES, 3rd, Chairman

Home Service, J. BARNARD WALTON, Chairman

Peace, VINCENT D. NICHOLSON, Chairman

Telephone

RITTENHOUSE 2765

Executive Secretary, CLARENCE E. PICKETT

Vice-Chairmen

HENRY TATNALL BROWN

HANNAH CLOTHIER HULL

W. O. MENDENHALL

Secretarial Staff

Ray Newton Elizabeth Marsh

Hugh W. Moore

Associate Secretaries

William B. Harvey

J. Barnard Walton

Walter C. Woodward

April 20, 1931.

Kirby Page,
347 Madison Ave.,
New York City

Dear Friend:

I have just received today the following cable from Mr. Parulekar, my friend who is now very close to Mr. Gandhi and who cabled me asking whether Friends would like to have charge of his itinerary.

"INTERVIEWED GANDHI IN AHMEDABAD SAYS
CANT DECIDE UNTIL AFTER GOING LONDON
LETTER FOLLOWS"

Sincerely yours,



Executive Secretary

CEP:EC

April 21, 1931.

To The Membership Committee
of The Town Hall Club,
123 West 43rd Street,
New York City.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

We, the undersigned members of The Town Hall Club, desire to request that a few highly qualified Negroes - men and women - be admitted to membership in the Club.

We understand that there is no definite rule against their admission, but that there is a practice of refusing to accept nominations of Negroes. If given assurance that their names would receive consideration, we are prepared to nominate several Negroes for membership in the Club.

We would be grateful for a word from the Committee as to just what the policy of the Club is with regard to race discrimination.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed)

ADELAIDE CASE
MARTHA P. FALCONER
OWEN R. LOVEJOY
REINHOLD NIEBUHR
KIRBY PAGE
GAYLORD S. WHITE

April 21, 1931.

Dear Mr. Gandhi:

A few days ago six of us cabled you as per the enclosed copy. We are in general agreement that the press in America is so unethical and sensational that it would exploit you if you come to this country, and grossly misrepresent your cause.

Public sentiment for Indian freedom in this country is gaining steadily and we have no doubt that sentiment in your favor will materialize even more rapidly at the time of the next Round Table Conference. Under the circumstances, therefore, we feel that it would be a mistake in tactics for you to come to this country just now.

You will appreciate the spirit in which we have sent this cablegram. We are doing our utmost to present the Indian cause effectively to the American public. As you know, we are in complete agreement with your objective and the non-violent methods you have been using, and we rejoice beyond words at the success which has already come to your cause. We feel confident that complete freedom for India will be achieved within the immediate future.

If it still seems wise to you to make the trip to America you may be assured that we will co-operate with you to the utmost of our ability.

Shorwood Eddy and I remember with the keenest possible pleasure those wonderful days at the Ashram.

Cordially yours,

N. P.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi,
The Ashram,
Sabarmati,
INDIA

4-15-31

Sherwood Eddy

I

Eddy & Page

226/Eddy & Page

M.K.Gandhi

Sabarmati, India

Gandhi Sabarmati

India

KEENLY DISTURBED BY RUMORS YOU MAY VISIT AMERICA STOP STRONGLY
CONVINCED YOU WOULD BE EXPLOITED BY PRESS STOP CONSEQUENT MIS-
REPRESENTATION WOULD DO YOUR CAUSE INTENSE DAMAGE STOP REJOICE
THAT FREEDOM FOR INDIA IS SO NEAR AND ASSURE YOU OUR UNWAVERING
DEVOTION

SHERWOOD EDDY
JOHN HAYNES HOLES
BISHOP MCCONNELL
HARRY WARD
RUFUS JONES
KIRBY PAGE

The First Congregational Church

in Akron Ohio

REV. NOBLE STRONG ELDERKIN, D. D.

MINISTER

April 21, 1931

Dear Kirby,

I am much grateful to you
for the complimentary copy of
your new book.

You are always doing me
these fine favors - putting me deeper
in your debt.

I ordered two copies after your
wonderful Oberlin address & I wish
then hoping that I may befriend
two friends.

The First Congregational Church
in Akron Ohio

And now comes the May World Tomorrow
with its remarkable revelations.
It's all great.

Yours

Table

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

DIRECTORS

ESKIL C. CARLSON, PRESIDENT
CARL C. PROPER, VICE PRESIDENT
JOHN P. WALLACE, VICE PRESIDENT
WILL D. BOWLES, RECORDING SECRETARY
ED. E. CARTER, TREASURER
LESTER W. BASHAM
FRED O. BOHEN
CHARLES T. COWNIE
T. C. DENNY
JAMES W. HALL
A. O. HAUGE



FOURTH and KEOSAUQUA WAY

DES MOINES, IOWA
April 22, 1931

DIRECTORS

HERBERT L. HORTON
GROVER C. HUBBELL
KENNETH M. MAY
HERBERT J. NELSON
ELMER E. PECK
HANS C. PFUND
ED. S. ROOT
WALTER L. STEWART
WILL E. TONE
DEANE W. TRICK

GEORGE W. WEBBER
GENERAL SECRETARY

Dear Kirby:

Your wire about Mr. Hyde received. I think there is very little chance of getting any from him now. The whole Y.M. C.A. was on his neck in the convention the day after I was there. He has cut down his gifts to them this year from about \$100,000. to \$25,000. As you know, he has sold the forty per cent. of his stock that he intended as a permanent benevolent fund to his sons and is giving away that capital account. He gave much of it away last year and has little left. I asked him for \$1000. for my trip to China. He said it was doubtful, but that he might consider so small an amount. I was followed by Arthur Rue. He and George Irving are after him as well as the Association. I think a letter would do just as well as a visit. I would try a letter but I do not think there is much hope.

I have been fighting for my life with a terrible cold and flu. I had to go twice for two days to a Kansas City hospital. I had a grand time in St. Louis with the largest convocations they have ever known in the history of the University. Two meetings in Des Moines today. Thank heavens! in less than two weeks I come home to write.

Ever yours,

SE RB

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Devere Allen
 Forrest Bailey
 Paul Blanshard
 Leroy E. Bowman
 Heywood Brown
 McAlister Coleman
 Jerome Davis
 Elizabeth Dublin
 Abraham Epstein
 Elisabeth Gilman
 Donald Henderson
 Hubert C. Herring
 Jessie Wallace Hughan
 Nicholas Kelley
 William Pickens
 David Saposs
 E. B. Schultz
 Charlotte Tuttle
 B. C. Vladeck
 Louis Waldman
 Bertha Poole Weyl
 Howard Y. Williams

NATIONAL COUNCIL

California
 Ethelwyn Mills
 Upton Sinclair
Conn.
 George D. Pratt, Jr.
Dist. of Columbia
 Mercer G. Johnston
Georgia
 Mary Raoul Millis
Illinois
 Catherine L. Bacon
 Gilbert S. Cox
 Paul H. Douglas
 Paul Hutchinson
 Harold Lasswell
 Clarence Senior
 James M. Yard
Indiana
 John Brophy
 Powers Hapgood
 William P. Hapgood
Iowa
 Minnie E. Allen
 Laetitia Moon Conrad
Kansas
 John Ise
Maryland
 Edward L. Israel
Massachusetts
 Emma S. Dakin
 Elizabeth G. Evans
 Alfred Baker Lewis
 George E. Roewer
Michigan
 A. M. Todd
Minnesota
 Sarah T. Colvin
Missouri
 Joseph Myers
New Hampshire
 James Mackaye
New Jersey
 James W. Alexander
New York
 Harriot Stanton Blatch
 William E. Bohn
 Louis B. Boudin
 Paul F. Brissenden
 Morris Ernst
 Louise A. Floyd
 Norman Hapgood
 Morris Hillquit
 Frederic C. Howe
 Darwin J. Meserole
 William P. Montague
 A. J. Muste
 Frank L. Palmer
 J. S. Potofsky
 Evelyn Preston
 H. S. Raushenbush
 Nellie M. Seeds
 George Soule
 N. I. Stone
 Caro Lloyd Strobell
 David Rhys Williams
 Helen Sumner Woodbury
North Carolina
 Mary O. Cowper
Ohio
 Isaac E. Ash
 Edwin L. Clarke
 Alice P. Gannett
 Paul Jones
 Phil Ziegler
Pennsylvania
 Emily F. Dawson
 Percy M. Dawson
 Maynard C. Krueger
 Simon Libros
 Agnes L. Tierney
South Carolina
 Josiah Morse
South Dakota
 Daniel J. Gage
Utah
 James H. Wolfe

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Incorporated

112 EAST 19TH STREET, New York City

Telephone: ALgonquin 4-5865

OBJECT: Education for a new social order based on
 production for use and not for profit

OFFICERS

President
 Robert Morss Lovett
Vice-Presidents
 John Dewey
 John Haynes Holmes
 Vladimir Karapetoff
 Florence Kelley
 James H. Maurer
 Alexander Meiklejohn
 Mary R. Sanford
 Vida D. Scudder
 Helen Phelps Stokes
Treasurer
 Stuart Chase
Executive Directors
 Harry W. Laidler
 Norman Thomas
Secretary, Chicago Office
 Karl Borders
Field Secretary
 Paul Porter
Special Lecturer
 Paul Blanshard

Executive Secretary
 Mary Fox

April 25, 1931.

Mr. Kirby Page,
 The World Tomorrow,
 52 Vanderbilt Avenue,
 New York City.

Dear Kirby:

In February we wrote to you to find out whether it might be possible for you to write about 7400 words for the Haldeman-Julius series. At that time you said you were snowed under other work and could not do another thing. It is taking some of the other authors longer than they anticipated to write their manuscripts and Mr. Hillquit asked me to find out whether there is any chance of your doing the job now and having the manuscript in our hands sometime during May. He is particularly anxious for you to tackle the question of "The Wastes of Capitalism". Your name will count tremendously and we hope that it may be possible for you to do this.

Sincerely yours,



Executive Director.

HWL:SK

BS&AU

12646

April 27, 1931

Dear Harry:

I wish that I could reply favorably to your letter of April 25th, but I dare not take on another major job just now. I am just this minute getting out from under seven months of continuous strain and June is crowded with five student conferences. There are a thousand things that I have been side-tracking that I must get at during the month of May. To write the booklet adequately would require at least two weeks uninterrupted work and I simply cannot find that amount of time just now.

This is a source of deep regret to me as I would really enjoy the pamphlet undertaking.

Cordially yours,

Dr. Harry W. Laidler
League for Industrial Democracy
112 E. 19th St.
New York City

KP:ST

2804 Woodsey St.
Berkeley

Young Men's Christian Association
of the
University of California

Stiles Hall, Berkeley, California

April 26, 1931

Kirby Page
347 Madison Ave.,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Kirby:

"National Defense" is a greater book than I expected it to be. When I have finished it, I shall circulate the volume about the campus in order that as many as possible may benefit.

The U.C. bunch has tried mighty hard to maintain "the Asilomar level." It is difficult to lay one's finger on tangible results of a conference of that type. One result, however, is very marked. That is the renewed fight of the students against compulsory military training. Several groups have been formed with the one objection of doing away with the R.O.T.C., and many petitions are now going the rounds. I think the enclosed cartoon from "The Daily Californian" aptly reflects the general attitude of the student body on the important question.

You might like to add the enclosed snapshot I took of you to your collection. It came out rather well. I'm certainly happy to learn that your colleague, Sherwood Eddy, is to be the head-liner at the next Asilomar conference.

With kindest regards,

William E. Rice

15 NORTH FRANKLIN STREET
DELAWARE, OHIO

April 26th

Dear Kirby:

I have been in bed for a couple of days with a cold, and have spent my time reading your new book. It seems to me a great piece of work, and I am filled with admiration for the tremendous amount of work which has gone into it. Thank you for sending it.

I can't say how good it was to see you. Come often. The cold which was gathering that day has in part disappeared, due, perhaps, somewhat to something you apparently said to Dr. Westgate.

I had a flying trip to New York

last week for a final Ph. D. exam. I got
three, but in a pretty battered condition.
Kirby, how do you dare go around saving
us from war without first having taken a
doctor's degree? It's all wrong.

Please give my love to Alma. I
hope she is better.

Always,

Larry Sears

NATIONAL BROADCASTING CO.
BLUE NETWORK

NATIONAL YOUTH RADIO CONFERENCE

3:00 TO 4:00 P. M.
(EASTERN STANDARD TIME)

DANIEL A. POLING, SPEAKER

WJZ NEW YORK
WBAL BALTIMORE
KDKA PITTSBURGH
KWK ST. LOUIS
WREN KANSAS CITY, MO.
WPTF RALEIGH
WRVA RICHMOND
WJAX JACKSONVILLE
WFLA ST. PETERSBURG
WSUN CLEARWATER
WIOD MIAMI BEACH
KVOO TULSA
WOAI SAN ANTONIO
KFAB LINCOLN
KOA DENVER
WFAA DALLAS
KGW PORTLAND, OREGON
KGO SAN FRANCISCO

KPO SAN FRANCISCO
KOMO SEATTLE
KHQ SPOKANE
KSTP ST. PAUL
WEEC SUPERIOR
WECB DULUTH
WMC MEMPHIS
WSMB NEW ORLEANS
KPRC HOUSTON
WKY OKLAHOMA CITY
WBB ATLANTA
WAPI BIRMINGHAM
WGAR CLEVELAND
KSL SALT LAKE CITY
WTMJ MILWAUKEE

ADDITIONAL STATIONS
FROM TIME TO TIME

419 Fourth Avenue,
New York, N.Y.
April 28, 1931

My dear Kirby Page:

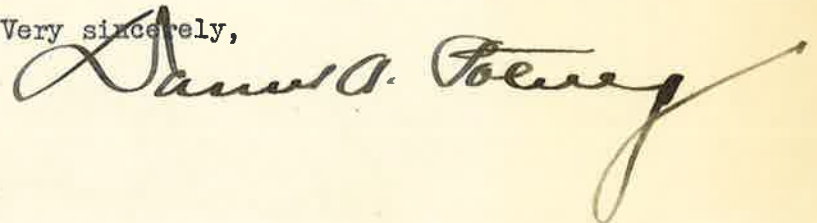
While I have not yet had time to read your book carefully or to complete it, I do wish to express to you my unqualified appreciation of what you have done.

You know, of course, that I do not agree with you in all particulars of program. You certainly know that I do endorse one hundred per cent your spirit.

In "National Defense" you have done something at once encyclopedic and challenging. You must be answered, nor do I believe that the answer of the searching mind can be anything short of constructive. Your ~~program~~ ^{reply} is in my opinion the most tangible and concrete reply to those who say, "The pacifist is oratorical but hopelessly impractical."

With every good wish,

Very sincerely,



Mr. Kirby Page,
52 Vanderbilt Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

WAYSMEET
WALLINGFORD, PA.

April 29, 1931

MAY 1 1931	
Cost \$	
Amount Sent	
Received by	
MAY 1 1931	

Mr. Kirby Page
104 E. Ninth St.
New York, New York

Dear Kirby:

I very greatly appreciate your sending me your latest book. I have only dipped into it but I have seen enough to make me very sure that I shall enjoy and appreciate it.

I am delighted that you are going on writing constructively on the peace issue and I feel that those of us who agree with you but are not able to give much of our time to thought and effort on these lines owe you a very deep debt of gratitude for what you have done and are doing. I look forward keenly to reading the book and I shall certainly be able to introduce it to others.

I am expecting to see you on the 15th of May and we are both looking forward eagerly to the time we shall spend together at Lisle.

I am,

Yours affectionately,

Henry I. Hogkin

HH:AS

EDITORIAL STAFF

Charles Clayton Morrison
Editor
Paul Hutchinson
Managing Editor
Winfred Ernest Garrison
Literary Editor
Herbert L. Willett
Reinhold Niebuhr
Joseph Fort Newton
Lynn Harold Hough
Alva W. Taylor
Thomas Curtis Clark
Fred Eastman

Robert L. Willett
Business Manager
Cable Address
"Chriscent"
Telephone
Harrison 5380-5381

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY

An Undenominational Journal of Religion

440 South Dearborn St., Chicago
1st May, 1931

Mr. Kirby Page
The World Tomorrow
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York City, New York

Dear Kirby:

This is in reply to your letter of April 24th.

I assume that you will see The Christian Century of next week and that you will find in the editorial there a sufficient answer to the request which your letter contains. If it is not and you would like something more personal, I will be glad to send it if you will just drop me a further line. I think you have done a great piece of work. We have all been very enthusiastic about it in the office of The Christian Century.

With all good wishes, I am

As ever yours,

Charles Clayton Morrison
Editor, The Christian Century

CCM
ANC

P.S. Just before signing your letter I signed the enclosed which it will not hurt your feelings to see!
Allee

1st May, 1931

The Reverend William C. Mitchell
First Presbyterian Church
Endicott, New York

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I do not know anything better for you to read than Kirby Page's new book on "National Defense." He has left nothing unsaid. If you find that he has left anything unsaid I think you will find it in your files of The Christian Century. Page's book is published by Farrar & Rinehart. It is just recently off the press, as you no doubt know.

With all good wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

CCM
ANC

Editor, The Christian Century